

MAN OF CLAY, NOT IRON

Roosevelt Enters into Compact With Tillman and Bailey Only to Betray Them.

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down and the controversy proceeded on another amendment suggested by Mr. Bacon, making the proposed court review apply only to "orders and requirements not involving the exercise of discretion by the commission."

The debate was legal and technical and was participated in by Senators Bacon, Long, Bailey, Foraker and others.

The Bacon amendment was voted down 22 to 46.

Tillman Charges Betrayal

During the debate Senator Tillman made an attack upon the president. He referred to the Long amendment, saying that he did so with the purpose of making an explanation. He said that senators probably would be surprised to know that he had been in conference with the president. He then, contrary to his usual practice, read a statement of his negotiations regarding the bill, as follows:

"On Saturday, March 31, I was informed by ex-Senator William E. Chandler, that President Roosevelt had sent to him a note asking him to call at the White House that evening; that he obeyed the call and had been told by the president that he desired through him to get into communication with me as the senator in charge of the railroad rate bill and with Senator Bailey, representing the democrats of the senate, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there could be such united action among the friends in the senate of the Hepburn bill as would make a sure majority in its favor and against injurious amendments.

Says He Was Lured.

Mr. Chandler said the president named various republican senators who he thought were true friends of the bill, but said that it might require all the democrats to defeat obnoxious amendments. Mr. Chandler said the president had stated that he had come to a complete disagreement with the senatorial lawyers who were trying to injure or defeat the bill by ingenious constitutional amendments, naming Senator Knox in addition to Senators Spooner and Foraker; that the president stated carefully and deliberately the basis upon which he thought there should be co-operation, viz: an amendment expressly granting a court review, but limiting it to two points, first, an inquiry whether the commission had acted beyond its authority ultra vires, and, second, whether it had violated the constitutional rights of the carrier. Mr. Chandler stated that the president repeated

that he had reached a final decision that the right of review should be thus limited; that thus far he would go, and no farther; that his decision would be unalterable.

Tells of President's Switch.

Proceeding, he said that Mr. Chandler had said that the president had assured him that he would be in favor of a restriction against the issuance of ex parte injunctions to meet the wishes of Senators Tillman and Bailey.

After informing Mr. Bailey of the Chandler interview Mr. Tillman said that on the next day he had told Mr. Chandler that in his and Mr. Bailey's opinion there would be no difficulty in coming to an understanding on the basis proposed by the president. "On the evening of Monday Mr. Chandler told me he had so assured the president, and asked him not to be disturbed by the newspaper items growing out of the talk about Senator Long's amendment published in the newspapers as one agreed upon at the White House conference on Saturday."

He then said that he and Mr. Chandler had continued their conferences and on April 5 the ex-senator had gone to the White House to take a favorable report to the president. On April 8 Mr. Chandler told him that he had conferred with Senator Allison, asking him to intervene in the conference then in progress, and that the Iowa senator had agreed to do so.

Chandler as Go-Between.

Later Mr. Allison had seen the president. On April 13 Chandler had advised that he (Mr. Tillman) and Mr. Bailey see the attorney general. Consequently they had met that official on the 15th, finding themselves in perfect accord with him except as to a small difference in the matter of injunction. "There was absolute accord from the first on the proposition that the court review should be limited to the inquiry whether the commission had exceeded its authority or violated the carriers' constitutional rights." Mr. Moody had then agreed to supply the senators with a memorandum of his views and had done so, "and we have the original of it," said Mr. Tillman.

The next day, Mr. Tillman said, he had again seen Mr. Moody and had assured him that twenty-six democratic votes could be secured for the compromise proposed and had told him that it would be necessary to get twenty republican votes. "It was understood that we should work together to get the votes necessary to pass the compromise. The attorney general had expressed doubt of getting enough republican votes to assure the acceptance of the Bailey non-suspension proviso, but had said that he felt sure of the Overman amendment. Mr. Moody had, he said, assured him that it was the fixed purpose to insist upon the Long amendment, and he (Mr. Tillman) had no suspicion of a change of front until May 4, when the president had his interview with the assembled newspaper men.

The reading of the statement evoked many smiles and some laughter from senators. There was especial merriment over a statement of assurance by the South Carolina senator that the president need not be alarmed over newspaper reports. He had, he said, told the attorney general that there was no danger of the result as to the bill if the president should adhere to his plans.

He then had the clerk read the Moody memorandum covering the points agreed upon as the basis of amendments.

Mr. Tillman's time expired before he had completed his statement, but he was permitted to proceed by unanimous consent. He said that he and ex-Senator Chandler had been informed at the same time of the president's change of attitude. They had gone together to Mr. Bailey and all three had repaired to the residence of Mr. Moody, "the fourth conspirator," and

had found him apparently entirely innocent of knowledge of the change.

He admitted that he had hesitated about entering upon the negotiation with the president because of his "just indignation for a past wrong," but he had concluded to pocket his pride in the interests of a great cause. He also said that Senator Allison had promised him twenty-two votes on the republican side; hence he had felt justified in his assurances to the president's representatives.

Sees Aldrich in Saddle.

It would be useless to pursue the argument, said Mr. Tillman.

"The senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Aldrich) has resumed control of the republicans," he said.

As a slight murmur of mirth ran through the senate, Mr. Tillman remarked: "The senator need not shake his head. But I simply want to say that he has come nearer being unhorsed and thrown in the ditch than at any time since I have been here."

This produced an emphasized smile in the senate.

Turning his attention again to the president, he said if the president stood fast to his original declaration, "we would have won out."

"As for his treatment of me, I shall say nothing."

He closed by asking whether or not the president should be entitled to the glory of the legislation which was conceived in a democratic convention. He would leave the answer to the people of the country.

Carter in Defense.

Senator Carter of Montana was recognized. He remarked, with a smile that seemed to be understood, that if the Hon. William E. Chandler, formerly a senator from New Hampshire, should be given the floor of the senate for the rest of the session much light might be thrown on the subject.

"I should be delighted to hear from Senator Chandler," interjected Mr. Tillman. "And should also be glad to hear from the president and Mr. Moody."

Mr. Carter, after saying he believed the president had been consistently in favor of the house bill, made a rejoinder to a remark he ascribed to Senator Bailey, who had, he said, referred to him (Carter) as an insignificant member of the body.

He would rather be an humble citizen than to be afflicted with going through the world "wrapped in a mantle of egotism and strutting through an atmosphere of vanity, considering all other men puny."

Senator Bailey at once replied. The senator from Montana had misquoted him, he said. He had not referred to Mr. Carter as an humble or inconspicuous member of the body, but that his services in behalf of this bill had been inconspicuous.

Bailey Reviews Interview.

The senator might just as well treat himself to the novel sensation of being accurate once in awhile, said Mr. Bailey. Never, he continued, no matter what might be said on the floor of the senate, should he allow himself to be provoked to violent controversy.

He reviewed his interviews with the attorney general, and then said there was one great moral to be drawn from the unfortunate circumstances of this bill. That was the danger of the result of interference with the legislative branch of the government by the executive. However, bad as the present situation was, he believed that the future would draw a valuable lesson from the history of this experience.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT

Writes Letter to Senator Allison in Replying to Charges

On May 14 the president gave out the following statement:

"The White House, Washington, May 14, 1906.—My Dear Senator Allison: As Senator Tillman brought in

your name in connection with mine in the statement he made concerning our relations to the rate bill last Saturday, it is perhaps due to you that I should write you on the latter. After the rate bill was reported from the committee and after, by vote of the committee, Mr. Tillman had been put in charge of it, many senators and many outsiders came to see me with reference to it. Among others I was asked to see ex-Senator Chandler as representing Mr. Tillman, who was in charge of the bill. I stated in response that I was of course entirely willing to see Mr. Tillman personally or to see Mr. Chandler or anyone else who could speak for him, and I accordingly directed my secretary to make an appointment for Mr. Chandler to see me. My understanding was that he was the representative of Mr. Tillman. In this first interview he stated to me the views of Mr. Tillman with seeming authority. He called on me several times. During the same period I saw other gentlemen who professed to give the views of other senators. In addition I saw numerous senators, both republicans and democrats, some of them once or twice, some of them many times. I saw numerous outsiders, railroad men, shippers, newspaper men and students of traffic regulation, including especially the attorney general and members of the interstate commerce commission and on two occasions I saw groups of newspaper men in a mass.

"To all of these, senators, representatives of senators and outsiders alike, I made the same statements, those that I made to Mr. Chandler being the same in substance that I made to you and to those of your colleagues of both political parties with whom I had any extended conferences on the subject. The letter of the attorney general, which I enclose, shows fully the facts as to the conferences, which, at my instance, were held with Senators Tillman and Bailey. Those conferences were precisely such as at my instance were

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